

ETHNO-RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES AND FARMERS-HERDERS' CONFLICT IN KARIM LAMIDO LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, TARABA STATE

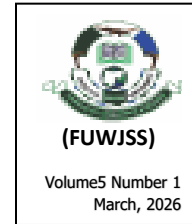
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Abstract

This study examines farmer-herder conflict in Karim-Lamido Local Government Area of Taraba State, Nigeria. Through the lens of ethno-religious theory of conflict, the study discussed how ethnic and religious identities continue to sustain violent clashes between farmers and herders in Karim-Lamido Local Government Area. Adopting ex-post facto research design, the study relied on secondary data from academic literature, government reports and media accounts. Findings reveal that while resource scarcity and ecological pressures remain significant causes, perceptions of religious and ethnic differences have deepened mistrust and escalated violence between farmers and herders in Karim-Lamido Local Government Area of Taraba State. The study concludes that resource-driven explanations alone cannot holistically account for the persistence of conflict of this nature without interrogating its ethno-religious dimensions. Hence, the study recommends conflict-sensitive land reforms, interfaith dialogue, strengthening of traditional institutions, and inclusive governance as a peacebuilding strategy for sustainable peace in Karim-Lamido Local Government Area of Taraba State.

Keywords: Farmer-herder conflict, Ethno-religious conflict, Karim-Lamido, interfaith, peace

Introduction

Conflicts between farmers and herders have become one of the most complex forms of communal violence in sub-Saharan Africa, with Nigeria often seen as a major hotspot. Historically, pastoralism and sedentary farming coexisted in a relatively symbiotic relationship where farmers provided crop residues for cattle feed, while herders supplied manure that enriched the soil for agriculture (Tonah, 2006). Over time, however, environmental pressures, demographic shifts, and socio-political changes

eroded this cooperation and transformed it into open contestation. In contemporary Nigeria, the farmer-herder conflict is now one of the deadliest forms of communal strife, surpassing even some insurgencies in terms of casualties and displacement (International Crisis Group, 2017).

Nigeria's geographic diversity situates it at the intersection of the Sahelian ecological belt in the north and the tropical rainforest zones in the south. This ecological contrast has historically shaped migration patterns, with Fulani pastoralists moving southward in search of pasture and water for their cattle. However, climate change, desertification, and population growth have intensified the struggle for arable land and grazing resources, often resulting in violent clashes (Okoli & Atelhe, 2014). These tensions are most pronounced in the Middle Belt region and Taraba State where ecological transition and ethno-religious plurality are noticeable.

Taraba State, often referred to as "Nature's Gift to the Nation," is endowed with fertile land, abundant rivers, and diverse ethnic groups. Its geographical advantages make it an attractive destination for pastoralists, both from within Nigeria and from neighboring countries such as Cameroon and Chad. Yet these same ecological blessings have made it a dangerous zone of violent conflict. In particular, Karim-Lamido Local Government Area (LGA), one of the largest LGAs in Taraba State, has experienced recurrent farmer-herder clashes. With its fertile river valleys, vast farmlands, and grazing routes, the area characterises the dynamics of agrarian-pastoralist relations in Nigeria. While the immediate causes of the conflict often revolve around resource competition, crop destruction by cattle, blockage of grazing routes, and encroachment on farmlands, the deeper layers reveal more complex dynamics. Ethnic and religious identities have increasingly played a critical role in escalating otherwise negotiable disputes into protracted hostilities. Farmers in Karim-Lamido are predominantly from indigenous ethnic groups such as the Karimjo, Jenjo, Bandawa among others who are Christians. Herders, on the other hand, are largely Fulani, with Islam as their primary religion. This ethno-religious divide fosters a narrative of "us versus them," where farmers perceive herders not only as economic competitors but also as cultural and religious outsiders.

This shift from resource driven disputes to identity laden conflicts is not unique to Karim-Lamido but reflects a broader national pattern. In states such as Benue, Plateau, and Adamawa among others, farmer-herder clashes have assumed ethno-religious lines escalating the scale of violence and complicating peacebuilding efforts. However, Karim-Lamido provides a unique case because of its geographical position as a border area with significant cross-border migration and its internal diversity of ethnic and religious communities. The impact of these conflicts has been

devastating. Beyond the immediate loss of lives and destruction of property, recurrent violence in Karim-Lamido has led to mass displacement, food insecurity, and the erosion of intercommunal trust. Agricultural productivity has been severely hampered, with farmers abandoning fertile lands out of fear of attacks, while pastoralists face restricted access to grazing routes.

However, farmer-herder clashes in Karim-Lamido Local Government Area of Taraba State have in recent years assumed disturbing patterns, leaving behind trails of fatalities, displacement, and destruction of livelihoods. For instance, violent attacks on Munga Lalau and Munga Doso communities in April–May 2025 claimed the lives of over 40 persons (TheCable, 2025). Earlier, in May 2025, renewed hostilities in Bandawa led to the killing of two farmers, injuries to several others, and the disappearance of six herders (Daily Post, 2025). Taraba State as a whole has not been spared: between September 2017 and June 2018, the state recorded about 19,000 displaced persons as a result of recurrent clashes (International Crisis Group, 2018). These figures underline the severity of the crisis in Karim-Lamido, where protracted violence has disrupted farming activities, restricted access to grazing routes, and increased humanitarian suffering.

Yet, much of the literature and policy discourse continues to frame these conflicts narrowly around ecological pressures such as desertification, competition over arable land, and climate change-induced scarcity (Okoli & Atelhe, 2014; Tonah, 2006). While these factors remain relevant, they provide incomplete explanation and understanding of the conflict. The Karim-Lamido case reveals how ethnic and religious identities with predominantly Christian indigenous farming groups such as the Karimjo, Jenjo, Bandawa among others, on one hand, and largely Muslim Fulani pastoralists on the other have made negotiable disputes into protracted identity driven hostilities. This inadequacy in existing scholarship has neglected the ethno-religious dimension and thereby impeded the formulation of holistic peacebuilding strategies capable of addressing both resource competition and identity based solutions. Hence, the objective of this study is to critically interrogate the ethno-religious identity dimension of the farmer-herder conflict in Karim-Lamido Local Government Area of Taraba State Nigeria.

Resource Competition and Environmental Pressures in Nigeria's Sahel Region

Scholarly debates on the farmer–herder conflict in Nigeria underscore the centrality of environmental scarcity as a structural driver of violence, particularly within the Sahelian belt and adjoining Middle Belt states. The

environmental security thesis, as advanced by Homer-Dixon (1999), posits that ecological stressors such as desertification, drought, and resource depletion intensify competition over land and water, thereby fueling communal conflict. This perspective finds resonance in Nigeria's Sahelian zone where climate change, population pressure, and shrinking arable land have created conditions of acute livelihood insecurity (Blench, 2010; Okoli & Atelhe, 2014).

The desiccation of Lake Chad, which has lost over 90 percent of its volume since the 1960s, exemplifies the magnitude of environmental change in the region, displacing pastoralists and forcing large-scale southward migration into Nigeria's fertile Middle Belt (Okeke, 2014). In Taraba State, and more specifically in Karim-Lamido, the fertile valleys of the Benue River and its tributaries have become prime targets for both sedentary farmers and transhumant herders. This ecological endowment, while an asset, simultaneously constitutes a flashpoint of contention. Farmers consistently report crop destruction, encroachment on cultivated fields, and water pollution caused by cattle, while pastoralists lament the loss of grazing spaces and access to water points.

Environmental scarcity does not in itself predetermine violence, but it creates a structural backdrop that heightens the probability of conflict escalation when combined with weak governance and identity politics (Ide, 2020). Thus, ecological stressors in Nigeria's Sahel should be seen not as isolated causes but as conditions that shape the socio-political environment in which violent farmer-herder clashes unfold. In the case of Karim-Lamido, ecological pressures provide the material terrain of contestation, but the conflict assumes greater intensity when mediated through ethnic and religious identities.

Ethnic and Religious Identities in Post-Colonial Nigeria

While ecological perspective constitutes an important aspect, it is insufficient to account for the persistence and ferocity of farmer-herder conflicts in Nigeria without recourse to the politics of identity. Post-colonial Nigeria is marked by complex layers of ethnicity and religion that have historically served as both markers of belonging and lines of exclusion. Ethno-religious conflict dimension emphasises that when material disputes are framed through identity based narratives, they transcend the realm of negotiable interests and assume existential significance (Horowitz, 1985; Adebayo, 2017).

In the Middle Belt states of Benue, Plateau, and Taraba, these dynamics are particularly acute. Fulani herders, who are predominantly Muslim, are often portrayed as "outsiders" with expansionist tendencies, while indigenous farming communities such as the Karimjo, Jenjo, and

Bandawa in Karim-Lamido who are largely Christian relieved to be defending their ancestral land and cultural heritage. This ethno-religious divide transforms otherwise negotiable disputes over farmland and grazing route into protracted conflicts framed in terms of survival, domination, and identity. Such framing fosters polarising narratives of “us versus them,” thereby deepens mistrust, and makes reconciliation more difficult.

The post-colonial Nigerian state, with its weak institutions and politicisation of ethnic identity, has often exacerbated rather than mitigated these tensions (International Crisis Group, 2018). The enactment of the anti-grazing law in Taraba State in 2017, for example, illustrates how state policies are interpreted differently across identity lines: farmers viewed it as protective of their rights, whereas herders considered it discriminatory and exclusionary. The resultant contestations reveal how governance failures intersect with identity politics to perpetuate cycles of violence.

Furthermore, the historical legacy of colonial indirect rule entrenched identity consciousness by privileging certain groups over others and institutionalising ethnic boundaries in land tenure and political representation (Mustapha, 2006). This legacy persists in local government systems where exclusionary practices reinforce grievances among both herders and farmers. Hence, in post-colonial Nigeria, identity is not merely a cultural marker but a political weapon that escalates resource driven disputes into existential conflicts. Weak state institutions, poor security responses, and politicization of ethnic identity exacerbate farmer-herder clashes (International Crisis Group, 2018). In Taraba State, contestations over the anti-grazing law introduced in 2017 illustrate how state policies can fuel rather than resolve tensions, as herders saw the law as discriminatory, while farmers viewed it as protective of their rights (Okeke, 2020). Furthermore, corruption in land administration and exclusionary practices in local government create feelings of marginalization among both groups, limiting the prospects for conflict-sensitive solutions. The absence of effective early warning systems and impartial security responses often escalates small disputes into widespread violence.

Several empirical studies have examined farmer-herder conflicts in Nigeria, offering insights into their causes, dynamics, and consequences. For instance, Okoli and Atelhe (2014), in their study “Nomads against Natives: A Political Ecology of Herder/Farmer Conflicts in Nasarawa State, Nigeria” explored the ecological and political factors driving farmer-herder clashes. Using a qualitative political ecology approach, they found that desertification, resource scarcity, and the collapse of grazing reserves triggered conflicts, which were further worsened by governance

weaknesses. They recommended the revitalization of grazing reserves, conflict-sensitive land policies, and the strengthening of traditional mediation systems.

Similarly, Adisa and Adekunle (2010) conducted a factor analysis of socio-economic variables in farmer-herder conflicts among arable crop farmers in North Central Nigeria. Drawing on quantitative survey data from 150 respondents, they discovered that recurrent clashes disrupted farming cycles, displaced rural communities, and destroyed local economies. The authors recommended community-based conflict management committees, early warning systems, and sustained dialogue between farmers and herders.

At the policy level, the International Crisis Group (2018), in its report “Stopping Nigeria’s Spiralling Farmer-Herder Violence” investigated the scale and dynamics of these clashes, including those in Taraba State. The study revealed that the state recorded about 19,000 displaced persons between September 2017 and June 2018 alone. Importantly, the report noted that the crisis had acquired strong ethno-religious undertones, with predominantly Christian farmers framing Muslim Fulani herders as outsiders. Recommendations included inclusive dialogue, impartial security responses, and land reforms to balance competing interests.

Blench (2010), in a historical desk study on pastoralist-farmer relations in Nigeria, argued that the collapse of the formerly symbiotic relationship between farmers and herders crop residues for manure exchange had given way to conflict. He highlighted that areas such as Taraba and Benue were particularly vulnerable due to fertile lands. He recommended holistic interventions that combine land reforms, intergroup dialogue, and adaptive strategies for climate pressures.

Okoli and Ogoh (2014) provided another angle, focusing on identity politics in their article *Ethno-Religious Identity and the Dynamics of Farmer-Herder Conflict in the Middle Belt Region of Nigeria*. Their findings demonstrated that ethnic and religious perceptions transformed resource disputes into existential struggles, particularly in states like Plateau, Benue, and Taraba. They recommended interfaith dialogue, inclusive governance, and neutral security enforcement.

The above empirical studies underscore the fact that while ecological factors provide the structural triggers of farmer-herder clashes, their persistence and intensity in Nigeria including Taraba State particularly in Karim-Lamido LGA cannot be fully understood without interrogating the ethno-religious dimensions of the conflict.

Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored on Ethno-religious Conflict Theory. The ethno-religious conflict theory is an analytical framework that explains conflict as a product of overlapping ethnic and religious identities that shape perceptions of group belonging, exclusion, and survival. According to this model, competition over resources, political power, or security becomes amplified when the groups involved belong to different ethnic or religious communities (Horowitz, 1985). Ethno-religious conflict is therefore not simply about material scarcity but about how identity such as language, religion, and cultural heritage are mobilized in ways that deepen hostility and transform disputes into existential struggles.

The birth of the ethno-religious conflict model can be traced to post-World War II scholarship on ethnicity and identity politics. Early theories of ethnic conflict emerged in the 1960s and 1970s as scholars sought to explain the wave of communal violence and secessionist struggles that accompanied decolonization in Africa and Asia (Nnoli, 1978). The theory is ascribed to scholars like Donald Horowitz, Edward Azar, and Samuel Huntington, who emphasized the persistence of “primordial” identities in fueling communal and international conflicts. The likes of Ali Mazrui (1996), Okwudibia Nnoli (1978) have also elaborate it on African context.

The major assumptions are:

- i. That conflict rooted in ethnic and religious identities are not easily negotiable.
- ii. That when dispute takes ethnic or religious lines, parties involve often perceive it as zero-sum struggles for survival and recognition.
- iii. That resource-based crisis such as competition over land, water, jobs among others become intensified when framed in ethno-religious terms.
- iv. That historical Memories of the past such as previous attack, victimization, marginalisation etc re-enforces grievances, stereotypes, and mistrust thereby making reconciliation difficult.
- vi. Instrumentalization by Elites: Political and community leaders often manipulate ethnic and religious identities to mobilize support, thereby escalating violence.

These assumptions above highlight the fact that farmer-herder conflicts cannot be reduced to ecological or economic explanations alone as they are sustained by identity based dynamics that shape how communities interpret disputes. The ethno-religious conflict model is particularly relevant to this study in that, the ethnic divide is clear: farmers in Karim-Lamido are predominantly indigenous groups such as the Karimjo, Jenjo, Bandawa among others, many of whom are Christians, while herders are largely Fulani and Muslim. This identity distinction transforms disputes over grazing routes or crop destruction into contests

over cultural survival and territorial belonging. Farmers often perceive Fulani herders as “outsiders” or “invaders,” while herders see restrictions on mobility as deliberate exclusion.

Furthermore, the religious divide amplifies tensions. In a community where Christianity and Islam coexist in fragile balance, farmer-herder disputes are frequently framed in religious terms, with each side interpreting violence as an attack on its faith community. This religious framing escalates violence beyond the immediate economic issues. Historical memories of past attacks is another which reinforce mistrust. Communities often recall earlier incidents of killings or displacement, interpreting new disputes through the lens of revenge and collective trauma. This sustains a cycle of reprisals that is difficult to end.

Finally, political actors also instrumentalises ethnic and religious divisions for political gains, further complicating peacebuilding efforts as Okeke remarked, (Okeke, 2020). For example, the introduction of anti-grazing laws in Taraba State, though aimed at reducing conflict, but was interpreted differently by the two groups: farmers saw it as protection, while herders perceived it as exclusionary. Such divergent interpretations illustrate how identity shapes perceptions in relation to conflict and peacebuilding. Thus, the ethno-religious conflict model provides a more holistic understanding of the Karim-Lamido crisis by showing that resource scarcity alone cannot account for the persistence of violence.

While the ethno-religious conflict model provides valuable insights into how identity influences disputes, it has been critiqued for overemphasizing cultural and religious factors at the expense of structural drivers such as poverty, governance deficits, and ecological scarcity (Hutchinson, 2001). Critics argue that framing conflicts primarily through identity risks portraying them as inevitable or immutable, which can obscure opportunities for pragmatic interventions. Nevertheless, the model is aptly suitable for this study because it captures the reality that farmer-herder clashes in the study area are not solely resource-driven; they are deeply intertwined with perceptions of ethnic and religious exclusion, historical grievances, and mistrust.

Research Methodology

This study adopts Ex-post facto research design. The ex-post facto design is appropriate for this because the researcher examines pre-existing events and conditions of farmer-herder conflicts in Karim-Lamido LGA without manipulating variables. The study relies exclusively on secondary method of data which includes academic literature (journal articles, books, and conference proceedings) relevant to farmer-herder conflict in Nigeria, government reports from Taraba State ministries, including agriculture,

security, and disaster management, media reports and credible news sources documenting specific clashes and displacement events in Karim-Lamido, reports from international organizations, such as the International Crisis Group, UNHCR, and FAO, which provide contextual and statistical data on the humanitarian and socioeconomic impacts of conflicts.

Patterns of Farmer-Herder Clashes in Karim-Lamido

The literature reveals that farmer-herder clashes in Karim-Lamido are frequent, violent, and cyclical. Incidents often follow a seasonal pattern, with heightened clashes during the dry season when Fulani herders migrate southward in search of pasture and water (Okoli & Atelhe, 2014). However, the last three clashes in April and May 2025 happened at the verge of take off to the raining season. Common triggers include crop destruction by grazing cattle, encroachment on farmlands due to expanding grazing routes, disputes over water points in river valleys.

Specific cases in Karim-Lamido illustrate these patterns. For example, April–May 2025 clashes in Munga Lalau and Munga Doso resulted in over 40 fatalities (TheCable, 2025), while hostilities in Bandawa in May 2025 led to deaths, injuries, and displacement of several herders and farmers (Daily Post, 2025). These patterns mirror trends in the Middle Belt but are intensified in Karim-Lamido due to its fertile lands and strategic location.

Framings of Ethnic and Religious Identities Karim-Lamido

Ethnic and religious identities significantly escalate disputes in Karim-Lamido. Farmers, predominantly from indigenous groups such as Karimjo, Jenjo, and Bandawa, are largely Christian, whereas Fulani herders are Muslim (Blench, 2010). The following dynamics were identified:

- i. Perceived Outsider Status: Farmers often perceive herders as outsiders encroaching on “their” lands.
- ii. Religious Framing: Clashes are sometimes interpreted as attacks on faith communities rather than purely economic disputes
- iii. Historical Grievances: Prior incidents of killings or property destruction reinforce mistrust and legitimize retaliatory attacks.
- iv. Political Manipulation: Local elites occasionally exploit these divisions to gain political leverage, exacerbating tensions.

These identity dynamics transform otherwise negotiable disputes into protracted, identity laden conflicts, consistent with the ethno-religious conflict model.

Socio-Economic and Humanitarian Impacts of Farmer-Herders Conflict in Karim-Lamido

The socio-economic and humanitarian consequences of farmer-herder clashes in Karim-Lamido are severe and multi-dimensional:

- i. **Agricultural Disruption:** Farmers abandon fertile farmlands, reducing crop yields and threatening food security.
- ii. **Livestock Loss:** Herders face cattle theft, death of animals, and restricted access to grazing routes, undermining their livelihoods.
- iii. **Displacement:** Thousands have been forced into IDP camps, with the International Crisis Group (2018) reporting 19,000 displaced persons in Taraba between 2017-2018.
- iv. **Infrastructure Damage:** Homes, schools, and health facilities are frequently destroyed, affecting social services.
- v. **Inter-communal Distrust:** Every violent clash crates mistrust and therefore weakens traditional mediation mechanisms and reduces willingness for cooperative ventures.
- vi. **Vulnerability of Women and Children:** Displacement and loss of livelihoods disproportionately affect women and children, increasing risks of malnutrition, gender-based violence, and school dropout.

Peacebuilding Strategy

Analysis of the literature indicates that sustainable peace requires multi-dimensional interventions that address both ecological and ethno-religious factors. The following peacebuilding strategies are recommended:

- i. **Conflict-Sensitive Land Reforms:** Policies should balance access to farmland and grazing resources, with participatory mechanisms to avoid marginalization. This corresponds with Okoli & Ogoh, (2014)' recommendation.
- ii. **Interfaith Dialogue and Community Reconciliation:** Peace committees and forums can reduce mistrust and promote coexistence similar to the argument posed by Adebayo, (2017).
- iii. **Strengthening Traditional Institutions:** Empowering local chiefs and elders to mediate disputes enhances legitimacy and acceptance of resolutions.
- iv. **Inclusive Governance and Security:** Neutral and responsive security forces, coupled with political inclusivity, will reduce the instrumentalisation of identity politics.

The analysis reveals that:

- i. Resource scarcity triggers clashes, but ethnic and religious identities sustain and escalate them.

- ii. ii. Recurring violence creates a vicious cycle of displacement, economic loss, and mistrust.
- iii. iii. Existing governance measures, such as anti-grazing laws, are insufficient or counterproductive without integrating identity sensitive approaches.
- iv. iv. Peacebuilding must be holistic, combining ecological management with ethno-religious reconciliation to achieve sustainable resolution in Karim-Lamido.

The findings of this study provide critical insights into the farmer-herder conflict in Karim-Lamido Local Government Area of Taraba State. The analysis demonstrates that resource scarcity alone cannot fully explain the persistence of violence; rather, it is the intersection of ecological pressures, ethno-religious identities, and weak governance structures that sustains the conflict.

Firstly, the pattern of clashes in Karim-Lamido reflects seasonal and spatial dynamics. Most incidents occur during the dry season when Fulani herders migrate southward in search of water and pasture. This finding aligns with Okoli and Atelhe (2014), who highlight the role of environmental pressures in triggering conflicts across Nigeria's Middle Belt. However, in Karim-Lamido, clashes are further intensified by the fertile river valleys and expansive farmland that attract both farmers and herders, making competition over land more acute.

Secondly, ethnic and religious identities significantly amplify conflicts. Farmers, predominantly from indigenous Christian ethnic groups such as the Karimjo, Jenjo, and Bandawa, perceive Fulani herders largely Muslim as outsiders threatening their territorial and cultural space. This perception, reinforced by historical grievances and political instrumentalisation, transforms disputes over crops or grazing routes into protracted identity-based hostilities. This is consistent with the ethno-religious conflict model, which posits that identity markers can escalate otherwise negotiable disputes into intractable conflicts (Horowitz, 1985; Adebayo, 2017).

Thirdly, the socio-economic and humanitarian impacts are severe. Displacement, loss of livelihoods, destruction of infrastructure, and food insecurity are prevalent. Women and children bear disproportionate burdens, facing malnutrition, disruption of education, and increased vulnerability to gender-based violence. These impacts underscore the human cost of conflict and highlight the urgent need for integrated peacebuilding strategies.

Finally, the study reveals that existing governance interventions, such as anti-grazing laws, have had mixed effects. While intended to reduce resource-based conflicts, these measures are often perceived as

discriminatory by herders, exacerbating mistrust and resistance. The findings suggest that peacebuilding interventions must be multi-dimensional, addressing not only resource management but also identity-based grievances, historical mistrust, and institutional weaknesses.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This study concludes that the farmer-herder conflict in Karim-Lamido Local Government Area is multi-dimensional driven by the interaction of ecological pressures, ethnic and religious identities, and governance failures. While environmental scarcity triggers clashes, the ethno-religious dimension sustains and escalates them, making reconciliation and peacebuilding complex. The evidence shows that purely resource-driven explanations are inadequate for understanding the persistence of violence. Effective conflict resolution must therefore consider both material and identity-based factors.

Based on the findings, the study recommends the following strategies for sustainable peace in Karim-Lamido:

Conflict-Sensitive Land Reforms: that will accommodate the livelihood of both the farmers and herders.

Inter-faith and Inter-ethnic Dialogue: including community forums and peace committees to foster understanding similar to the one Taraba State Government has established, as well as promotes religious and cultural tolerance directly from the pulpit (Church and Mosque)

Strengthening Traditional Institutions: Empower local chiefs and elders to mediate conflicts using culturally accepted mechanisms.

Inclusive Governance and Security: Government should deploy neutral and responsive security forces to ensure sustainable security as well as adequate representation of pastoralists and farmers during reconciliation meeting.

Livelihood and Resilience Programs: Government should introduce agricultural extension services and alternative livelihoods for herders and farmers as well as post-conflict rehabilitation initiatives, including rebuilding schools, health facilities, destroyed properties.

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